

## Message Text

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ORIGIN L-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAI-01 OIC-02 CU-02 SAM-01

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DRAFTED BY L/EUR:DHSMALL:MF

APPROVED BY EUR:JLOWENSTEIN

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EUR/CE:DANDERSON

C:RBLACKWILL

S/S:JPMOFFAT

----- 030889

R 052231Z MAY 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USBERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104773

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, GE, GW, WB, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

RE(A) GENEVA 3059; (B) GENEVA 3126

1. DEL MAY INFORM BONN GROUP DELS THAT WE FIND NEUTRALS'  
MINIMAL TEXT (PARA 3, REF A) ADEQUATE PROTECTION FOR  
QRRS. WE ARE SOMEWHAT PUZZLED AS TO BASIS FOR NEUTRAL  
COMPLACENCY THAT WORD "OBLIGATIONS" DOES NOT NEED QUALIFI-  
CATION BY PHRASE SUCH AS "IN CONFORMITY WITH INTERNATIONAL  
LAW" IN ORDER TO FORCLOSE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE APPLICATION,  
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AND WOULD NOT OBJECT SHOULD THEY DESIRE TO PERFECT THEIR

TEXT IN THIS SENSE.

2. DEL SHOULD CONTINUE TO DISCOURAGE BRITISH, AT THIS STAGE, FROM GIVING CURRENCY TO THE IDEA OF AN ALLIED OR QUADRIpartite DISCLAIMER APPEARING IN THE JOURNAL. WHILE WE COULD LIVE WITH THAT OUTCOME, WE PREFER TO HAVE SAVING CLAUSE PLACED IN DOCUMENT ITSELF AND BE AGREED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS. IN VIEW OF PROGRESS TO DATE, THIS DOES NOT SEEM UNATTAINABLE.

3. WE CAN ACCEPT UK SUGGESTION OF "IN CONFORMITY WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW" AS ADDITION TO QUALIFICATION ALREADY AGREED QUADRIpartitely. HOWEVER, IT MAKES TEXT SOMEWHAT REDUNDANT, AND AGREEMENT MIGHT BE SOUGHT ON SIMPLY SUBSTITUTING "IN CONFORMITY WITH" FOR "UNDER", SINCE SOVIETS REGARD THEM AS IDENTICAL CONCEPTS.

4. REGARDING TACTICS TO BE FOLLOWED, WE AGREE WITH USDEL THAT QUADRIpartite SPONSORSHIP OF TEXT OR SPONSORSHIP BY FOUR POWERS PLUS TWO GERMAN STATES WOULD BE USEFUL INTERPRETIVE EVIDENCE, BUT THAT FORMAL GERMAN COSPONSORSHIP ON EQUAL FOOTING WITH FOUR POWERS IS NOT DESIRABLE. WHETHER FOUR POWER COSPONSORSHIP WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE VIS-A-VIS THE NEUTRALS IS DIFFICULT TO DECIDE FROM A DISTANCE, AND WE PREPARED TO SUPPORT USDEL'S JUDGMENT ON THIS MATTER. KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
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